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coresidence rather than kinship that has been reported to be the governor of exogamy (Kirchoff, 1931). In a sense this seems to be true of the Cubeo as well.

Among the *Bahúkiwa*, for example, a widowed younger sister of the headman had taken up residence with her sons and daughters and had assumed, as was her right, the status of household head. She prepared chicha for the in-house drinking parties and she contributed chicha to the drinking parties organized by the headman for the entertainment of the phratry. As a consequence she had a voice in sib affairs. Her children were cross-cousins to their *Bahúkiwa* generation mates and, therefore, according to the rules of kinship, marriage partners. They were, in fact, addressed as *tcimá* (cross-cousin). The boys, however, were reared with the male play pack, normally a sibling group, and were initiated into the *Bahúkiwa* ancestral cult. Because of the close association of these boys with their *Bahúkiwa* age mates, the expectation in the sib was that the widow's boys would not marry *Bahúkiwa* girls but that the widow's daughters could, if they wished, marry into the *Bahúkiwa*. One of the widow's sons, a boy reaching marriageable age, explained his position as follows: "How can I touch the sister of one who is like my brother?" The headman thought that such a marriage was possible, but it would be embarrassing because the boys were living together "like brothers." The widow thought it was all foolish. Her fondest hope was for all her children to marry right into the sib or at least into the phratry and so be with her. However, she, too, conceded that it would probably not happen that way. I also heard of the case of an orphan who had come to live in his mother's sib and who later eloped with a girl of his mother's sib. This marriage proved to be unpopular; some people called it "incest." The older men considered it to be proper but awkward. Apart from this case my list of marriages documents only community exogamy.

Community exogamy is not a "law" but a convention that has grown out of the tradition of the localized sib. The rule of sib exogamy, on the other hand, is inviolate regardless of residence. The Cubeo invariably identify social intimacy with fraternity. They have granted asylum to alien groups on their river by adopting them into the phratry on the theory that aliens intermarry but truly friendly people do not. Ceremonial friends become as "brothers" and will avoid sexual relations with one another's sisters. Within a community, the only fully established patterns of behavior are those of fraternity. Thus, a sib alien can be either a guest, that is, a transient, or become assimilated – not adopted – into the fraternal group. It is

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614 584 take place, although, it must be emphasized, these are never binding. Marriage is always thought of in terms of a boy getting a wife. A [589] girl thinks a great deal about getting a husband, but her parents prefer not to think about that. The Cubeo know bachelors but not spinsters. Parents of a boy have in mind a little girl somewhere, [583] usually in the maternal sib, as a wife for their son. Unable to bespeak her – a girl is bespoken only as a result of a brother-sister exchange marriage in which her brother has already taken possession of his wife – they keep an eye on her, waiting for her to grow up. She may marry someone else, in which case their disappointment will be keen although they will have no grounds for complaint.

614 583 584 There comes a day when a boy's parents say to him that there is a girl ready for marriage and that he ought to go and see if he can bring her home. If it is not the second stage of a brother-sister exchange marriage they will not say to him that they have already pursued the matter with the parents on the other side, through earlier exchanges of visits or through an emissary. Out of deference for his feelings should he fail to get the bride, they may instruct him as though he were going to broach marriage for the first time. If the girl is "vowed" to the sib his instructions are simply to bring her back, or, failing that, to take back his sister.

614 583 584 574 The young man sets out with a party of sibmen, some of his age group and some of his father's age group. The parents may come along, because a woman welcomes this chance for a home visit. A party does not necessarily announce itself as a wedding party. They prefer to announce upon arriving that they have come only to visit. If the parents are not to accompany the party, the father assembles the marriage party in the plaza and, in the presence of the entire community, instructs his son in the exchange procedures. If it is the completion of an exchange marriage he recapitulates the history of the earlier marriage, the promises of exchange that have been made, and declares what is due the sib. In an exchange marriage a particular girl has been promised and a substitute has usually been indicated if the girl who has been promised is unwilling. There is also the question of supplementary gifts to the bride's parents, such as a small canoe, a gun, ornaments, and the like, that the father authorizes his son to offer. If this is to be the initial marriage, from which an exchange will follow, the boy is instructed to say which sister or other girl of the sib will be offered. Under any circumstances both bride and groom have the option of deciding that they do not care for one another. This option is no mere formality and many a marriage party has had to settle for a social visit alone because the prin-